

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

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For rates of Advertising and Terms see Fourth page.

THIRTY-SIXTH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

AGREEABLY to previous announcement, the American Anti-Slavery Society celebrated its thirty-sixth Anniversary on Tuesday last week, May 11th, at Steinway Hall. There was a goodly gathering of the old friends of the cause, while many of the faces among the audience showed that the Anti-Slavery meetings had not lost their attraction for thoughtful and earnest young men and women, wherein to find inspiration, or, haply, consecration, for the battle of life.

The exercises were commenced by a voluntary on the organ, by Mr. SHIMMONS LAR, who kindly volunteered his very acceptable services, and agreeably interspersed the speaking with excellent music.

At the conclusion of the voluntary, the meeting was called to order by WENDELL PHILLIPS, the President of the Society, who said:

I welcome you, friends, at the opening of the Thirty-Sixth Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, congratulating you especially upon the very encouraging auspices under which we assemble in the Thirty-sixth year of our existence,—the whole heavens bright, and every sign of the times on our side. In conformity with the custom of this Society from its commencement, I invite any friend of the cause who feels moved to engage in vocal prayer to open our meeting with an address to the Throne of Grace.

Prayer was offered by Rev. WM. GOODALL, after which the President, in the absence of the Treasurer, read the following abstract of his report:

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

Annual Account of the American Anti-Slavery Society from May 1st, 1868, to May 1st, 1869.

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Amount received from subscriptions to "STANDARD" and donations.	\$12,414.03
Balance from old account.	1,217.20
Total.	\$13,631.23

DR.

Amount expended for publication of "STANDARD," office, and other expenses.	\$11,761.88
Balance to new account.	1,869.35
Total.	\$13,631.23

Pledges.	\$765.00
Cash on hand.	1,869.35
Total.	\$2,634.35

A series of resolutions, prepared by the Executive Committee, was then read. (These resolutions were printed last week.)

ADDRESS OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

I said, a moment ago, that I congratulated the friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society on the auspicious circumstances under which we come together this year; on the prospect of a speedy achievement of all the results at which our original movement aimed, in a civil point of view; at the achievement of that political equality which is at once the promised guaranty of, and the tool for, all other results—the seed-plot, the source, the weapon, by which a class may vindicate itself, and achieve all other privileges and rights.

Those of you who have been accustomed to fill these seats year after year well remember the circumstances under which we gathered here years ago. I do not refer to the mobs of the Tabernacle; I do not refer to the years when we were driven across the ferry to Brooklyn; I do not refer to the years when we were driven to Rochester and Syracuse, even to hold a peaceable meeting; because every thoughtful man regarded those signs as auspicious, in a certain sense. We had broken up the crust of indifference. Our ploughshare had gone so deep that we really had touched the living fibre, and it was very evident that our progress had been so vast and our blows so close to the life, that the enemy was marshalling all his forces to put us down; and when the enemy calls out all his reserves, when the man who professes to argue resorts to blows, when the press has no other weapon but ridicule and an appeal to the mob, it is very evident that you touch the very goal of your efforts. Mobs, therefore, were not by any means the most inauspicious of the circumstances that clustered around us. You may be sure, when you cannot find a hall in the capital of a nation in which to argue a question, that the question itself is knocking at the conscience of every thoughtful man in that nation. (Applause.) For truth always floats further on the shouts of a mob than the most earnest and eloquent lips can carry it. We always knew that John C. Calhoun and Marshal Rynders were doing as much, unwillingly, for the progress of emancipation as William Lloyd Garrison. It was only the force of the rebound, and you may always calculate the strength of the blow by the force of the rebound. But there were times when we met here—quiet times—silent meetings—indifference all about us; the press ignoring us; when we could hardly step off our platform without encountering an enemy, when the Government arrayed itself a perpetual and indefeasible obstacle—I will not say enemy, for an enemy fights, but the Government was not put to fighting; it had only to sit still; when we felt the church as our great enemy; when Literature did not care for us even enough to ridicule; when fashion ignored us; when Commerce, even, forgot us; when the merchant felt he could afford to be indifferent to any effect which the Anti-Slavery movement could possibly have on the channels of trade. Some of you remember those long years. Men came to us and said, "The work is too vast. How do you ever expect to do it? The roots are too deep; there is nothing in the nation that can reach them. It is a foregone conclusion. The enemy is encamped, fortified in Gibraltar. All your moral force is nonsense; all your waiting for the sober second-thought is dream. We have got the army and navy, we have got wealth and habit, we have got the prejudice of blood and the strength of the

law, we have got all the great and all the selfish elements of civilization on our side. Why do you disturb the public peace, when you cannot even make a ripple?" I remember those days well. I remember especially the sorrows of meetings in Philadelphia, when the city press flung just that criticism, after we had quitted the city, upon our movement. To-day, you can hardly step off the platform without meeting a man who says—"Why, what under heaven is there left for you to do? Where do you find a pretence for coming together? What right have you to the name of Anti-Slavery? I cannot see for the life of me where you can find enough to interest yourselves in." It is a great change. It is a glorious revulsion. Every thing that is respectable in literature is on our side. No journal of any character that does not, at the basis of its argument, no matter what be its nature, take for granted that the anti-slavery movement has either accomplished its whole pledge or is so near it, that there is no necessity for the movement at all. The Church? Last night, I had some ladies arguing with me on the Church. The only claim they put forward was that the church had done the work. We did not use to have much of the church, or much of its sanction, but we used to prophesy that when the work was done, the religious organization would come in and say—"Don't you know I did that? I did it all the time." Singular how it hid its light in a corner, under a bushel! The church is the full-moon reflection of Fashion, Literature, and the State; and to-day what in our country is the most noticeable, the most marvellous and the most important point is, that the government, from the President in the White House down through all its channels, is on our side. (Applause.) We have lived to see the day when the President, in his first official communication to Congress, tells us that no other path is open for it except to ignore color. There are sanguine men who have told me, within sixty days, that they never doubted that they should live to see that achievement; and all I had to say to them was, that they must have had ancestors of enormously long lives. We have lived to see the day when the Board of Brokers of this city have thrown open their doors to a negro, the Lieutenant-Governor of a sovereign State. (Applause.) If any man had stood on that platform at the Tabernacle, some nineteen years ago, when Marshal Rynders forbade the anti-slavery speakers to utter a word, and threatened to throw the Hutchinsons out of the window, and had said, "Most of you in this house will live to see the day when the merchants of Wall street will put on record a vote of compliment to a black man, presiding in the Senate of what is now a leading slave State," we should have flung him out of the window (laughter); at any rate, we should have begged him to take his place off the platform, and not disgrace the cause by his insanity.

I say the government of to-day is the most noticeable element in the present situation of affairs, because in all countries, to-day, and especially here, everything shapes itself, in time, on the model of the existing government. I know, of course, social prejudice; I know the rule of the saloon; I know the caste that lingers in the church; I know the flavor of sarcasm that still poisons literature; I know the prejudice against the colored man that still rests in the blood of the white race—I do not forget them a moment; but when I go back to history, I remember that after the House of Hanover had come to the British throne, or after the Revolution of 1688, which flung the Stuarts overboard, it was fashionable, it was "the thing," as the French say, it was literary, for a century later, to be a Tory, to shelter the Stuarts. Old families met under ancient roofs and pledged the Pretender; and fashionable dames laughed in fashionable circles at the vulgarity of the new regime. Sir Walter Scott, as late as his day, had all his heart on the side of the Stuarts; and so Literature, and High Church, and old attachments, and ancestral prejudices, and the *ton*, and the aristocracy, were all on the side of the old cause. The deepest bumpers were drunk to Charles; the heartiest oaths were pledged to the exiled house; and no young Englishman of any lineage went across the channel to Rome or Switzerland who did not, on the sly, pledge himself to the Pretender. So to-day, you may go to Paris, and if you will go to the South side of the Seine, to the old Pantheon St. Germaine, you will hear aristocratic dames still talking about Charles the Tenth, and rich men sneering at the "Citizen King," and literary men sarcastic over the Tuilleries. There is a little nucleus there,—and not a very little one either,—rich, strong, and fashionable, that still reverences the old moon, and cannot relish the new one. But, meanwhile, during that whole century to which I have referred, all that was strong, living and progressive in England was clustering round the new throne. The wealth of Bristol, the energy of Liverpool, the trade of London, the strong, robust sense of John Bull in the aggregate, was at the foot of the throne, and after awhile, England flung off the disease, the bad blood escaped, the old romances vanished into thin air, and nobody knows anything now but the England of the new and the popular House of Hanover. So in France. The strength of France, the wealth of France, the right hand of France, the heart of France,—they are all around the Government,—they are all in the centre of the great living France. So it is here. In sly corners, in the musty study of a Doctor of Divinity, in an out-of-the-way sect, in the lumber room and empty attic of a fashionable woman's part which she calls her mind (laughter), there will linger for a long while, a very long while, a sort of unexpressed prejudice against the black man; and literary boys will fancy themselves Hawthornes, and eminent writers, when they get off a jibe against the black race. And so all through many of our circles, for fifty years to come, you will find the ghost haunting his old home. But, meanwhile, the strong, living heart that makes the nation, its growing wealth, the mind that takes up the problems of the age, the hand on the helm that gives direction to the policy of the nation, the American who stands in the broad sunlight of to-day and does not worship cobwebs,—you will find all these forces moving in one direction, and writing on the national banner, as clearly as a great natural force ever can write it, "This is a nation that does not know black from white." (Applause.) That is my hope. You will see the colored man in the Capitol, in the Senate-Chamber, in the House of Representatives, carrying the banner of the Republic all over South America and Central America. The government that sends black men to Liberia and to Hayti takes the first step; the next step will send them to Brazil, to Peru, to Mexico; and when we have sent them to countries where people white and black, mixed and Indians, are so far in advance of us, in the Christian sense, that they do not know race,—when we have sent them there and they have earned their spurs, then,

"the tools to him who can use them." If the man who sits behind me (FREDERICK DOUGLASS), having managed our affairs with the Empire of Brazil in a manner which secures the utmost praise of diplomats, shall come home unemployed, who knows but that he will succeed the successor of Mr. Motley at the Court of St. James? (Applause.) We have lived to see infinitely stranger things than that happen. That would be but a ripple on the surface of affairs. What I want to impress upon Abolitionists, therefore, is, that even with the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, our work is not done. When that time comes (God hasten it!) it may be the fact, that the pledge of the Anti-Slavery organization will have been met and fulfilled. It may be the fact, as I, for one, shall recognize it, that when five million of men and women, with a million of votes, stand in the presence of the American people with the ballot in their right hand, it would be an insult to them to have an organization of another race living to help them get their rights. I should as soon think of setting up a machine to help the Germans or to endorse the Irish. All they would do to us would be to take off their hats and say, "Thank you; we are capable of managing our own affairs." But although that is true of the organization, in regard to public opinion, in regard to those great social forces which still continue in their influence to shape the future, our work is not done; we probably never shall live to see it done. To-day, in many of the States, there is an intense prejudice against the Irish; there is an intense loathing felt for a foreigner from that island; and every thoughtful American knows that he is not only doing a Christian and a wise work, but he is helping the future, when he smooths off the edge of that contemptible narrow bigotry, the pride of race. I think the wisest work that can be done to-day is to go forward, blow by blow, to teach the American people the absurdity and the narrowness of trying to found an empire on a single race. (Applause.) If there is any man whom I thoroughly pity (for he is infinitely lower than your contempt, which is somewhat of an active quality), it is the man who is proud of his white skin, the man who affects to see the possibility of founding an empire on one blood.

Diminish as fast as possible, in every particular, the prejudice against race. In order to do this, of course we are to hold up the hands of that great central power in this country which makes fashion. In the old world, hereditary distinction, birth, hereditary wealth, the throne itself, sets the fashion, and fashion is stronger than wealth, and literature, and religion, and the State combined. But in this country, we have no hereditary wealth, we have no set class; we have no recognized organ of office. The only thing that is lifted above the level is office. The young man shapes himself on the Senator; the politician looks up to the statesman; the wire-puller looks up to the politician; and so what the man of affairs does in the State flows down into the church, into literature, into society, and shapes them, to a great extent. I knew, therefore, when the Senate of the United States flung open its doors to Lieut-Gov. Dunn and the Senators of half a dozen sovereign States welcomed him to the floor, the proprietors of the Metropolitan Hotel would find that they should not lose all their guests if they admitted him too. (Applause.) There is a wonderful power in the Washington wind to set all vices in the same direction. (Laughter and applause.) You see it in the State. Of course, every man knows that there is a little superficial, self-conceited circle somewhere of brainless boys and silly girls, who imagine that they are the fashionable world. That is a set of butterflies that occasionally get the dust brushed off their wings and become decent persons. But they are not a force in society. The great forces of society are the men that work, and mould, and achieve, and lay up, build, and transport from place to place, and manage national affairs—the brains of the nation. They take suit after the great commercial centres and the government. We have got them. To-day, commerce knows that the corner-stone of her success is the industry, the contented industry, of the black race in one half the nation; and that in order for that content, they must have justice. Selfishness is on our side. We have kept the cannon. The reason why I am so earnest for capital and peace to go down hand in hand to the South is not that A. B. may make money, and that the colored men may get good wages—two results certain to follow; but the ultimate purpose I have in this continually dimming on peace in order to second industry is this: The moment the Border States on the Gulf get into the same industrial activity that New England has to-day, and you and I may fold our arms. You need not sold the *New York Observer*; you need not have any anxiety about the Old South Church of Boston; you need not concern yourselves about the *North American Review* and Harvard College. If I were to make a caricature, I would picture a negro with a spade, and another negro with a spindle, and I would have Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, Tennessee, Georgia and South Carolina chasing them and trying to catch them; because the moment industry gets to its feet, every Southern State will run a race with every other to woo back labor, which is the black man, into their limits. Tennessee cannot afford to be spiteful. If you let Andrew Johnson stand at Nashville and insult the colored men of the State, who knows but what six per cent. of the laboring class of that State, hating the atmosphere of Nashville, will move over into Alabama and Mississippi, and make wages rise? The merchants said to the Abolitionists in the city of Boston, thirty years ago, "We know you are right. Of course we know you are right. Do you think you see that principle any more clearly than we do? No indeed. But we cannot afford to let you alienate the South from Boston as a business focus. We do not mob you because you are wrong; we do not really mob you because you are fanatical; we mob you as a business speculation; we mob you in order to claim empire in Mobile and Savannah, in Nashville and Memphis, in New Orleans and Tampico." It was a well-considered, if an infamous policy; and to-day, the statesmen of Columbia, S. C., the statesmen of Nashville, the statesmen of Georgia, will not be allowed to insult, to alienate, or to unjustly discriminate against the black race, which is the labor of the South, by the land-owners and business men of those States. While, therefore, I urge, and then entreat, and then scold, and then criticize the government for its slowness, its lack of vigor, it is not that I want to see half-a-dozen men hung in the upper parishes of Louisiana. God Dunn said to us, "We are very well in the lower parishes, but in the upper parishes, if we arrest a Ku-Klux, in the respectable men in the county take him out of jail." I said, "That is exactly it. What I would like to have in that county is not a man to shoot the Ku-Klux; nobody will imitate him; but I want a power, call it civil or military, call it State or national,

give it any name or any form you please, that within forty-eight hours after those respectable men have broken the jail, dare hang up six of them. (Applause.) Let the respectable white men of the neighborhood know that lawlessness on the side of prejudice is not tolerable to-day in the South—"Give me six respectable men in one of the upper parishes of Louisiana hung in front of the jail door that they have broken, and the next jail door you can fasten with a cotton thread. (Applause.) The moment you have done it, the State resumes the great normal occupations of peace, the great industrial movement of the nineteenth century; and then every sensible man, every land-holder, every railroad manager, every man who wants peace, every man who wants money, every man who has anything to sell, or any thing to make, says to Louisiana, "Now, amid the rivalry of the South, put it better than any one else." I expect to see all the Southern States go into the advertising business. Here in New York, one man buys a column of the *Tribune*, another man buys two columns, and another man buys a page—what for? Why, to say, "I sell cheapest. Come to me. I have got the best sewing machines." And another man, in his despair, buys the *Independent*. (Laughter.) It is a system of advertising. It is saying to the public: Come here. You get the best treatment here. Louisiana will buy a column, Arkansas will buy two, the State of Georgia will buy a page, and the State of Delaware will buy the *Independent*. (Laughter.) It will be a continual race of competition. Why, we shall not be a circumstance, we abolitionists. I was charged the other day with being conservative on the color question, (Applause.) You have not yet begun to see what self-interest, and love of prominence as a State, and greed for popularity, and land advance, and all the other great motive forces of business will do for the negro. There will not be a colored man break into verse in the most indifferent manner who will not be hailed as a Byron. There will not be an essay written by a colored man in the corner of the most out-of-the-way newspaper, that there will not be a new Bacon bursting into light. Prepare yourselves for the advent of the great Mutual Admiration Society of the greedy merchants of the South and the black aspirants of the South. You know the Epicureans, the old sect of the classic mythology, believed in a God who created the world and arranged all its affairs, and then sat down, folded his arms, and saw it go. So my ideal of the anti-slavery movement is, that we should so plan and toil and manipulate the nation, that we can finally set all its great forces in harmonious relations, and then sit down, fold our arms, and see it go. In order to do it, when we have finally put on our banner that Fifteenth Amendment, which sweeps color prejudice out of the arena of politics, I want a right hand stern as death, and a drawn sword, rough ground, like those with which Wellington went into the battle of Waterloo, held over every Southern State, to secure that peace which promotes industry; and then I have that faith in the black man that I know he will earn his spurs. (Applause.) I have no doubt. I will put into one scale, for the white race, long habit, recognized position, book learning, the discipline of leisure, and I will put into the other the education which has been clutched in the intervals of toil, the discipline which has been ground into the man by the necessity of work; the college of the workshop and starvation; the diploma that a man gets from neglect. These are the black man's resources. And when it is done, I will pit the Harrises, the Langtons, the Turners and the Simmes of Georgia, against the best white Senators that the Northern States can send up to the Senate Chamber. (Applause.) I do not mean that they will quote Plato; I do not mean that they will be learned in Stuart Mill; I do not mean that they will load their speeches with the precedents of law or the authorities of literature, but I mean, that in the strong common sense, the instincts that see through the involutions and the intricacies of affairs, in all that great national heart and brain which in reality make us as a people, they will be fully the equals of their competitors.

You see I do not believe in the brains of the pulpit. I do not believe that the cream of what God gives us for intellect goes through the college or into the court. I think that the great industrial necessities of the nation absorb its best brain. I believe the men who lift up the innumerable products of national industry, and exchange the grain of the West for the products of the hands and spindles of the East, that crowd the prairies with lumber and New England with bread,—I believe that all those great operations of the industrial necessities of the nineteenth century take the best brains of the nation, give it its best education. I believe to-day, ladies and gentlemen, that the logic of events,—I know it is only a phrase, but if it has any meaning, it means the instinctive bias, the unconscious gravitation of the common sense of the masses,—I believe the logic of events, in that sense, has been the sheet anchor of our cause. You go down into Wall street and take every individual man by the button, and you will be surprised to find how many men (perhaps a majority) distrust the present policy of the nation toward the colored race. You go into the churches, and you find a vast majority disbelieve in the present dominant idea. You go into the colleges, and every man is sitting with his hands clasping his face, almost in tears, at the ruin of the nation. You go to Washington and take individual politicians, and you will find an unsuspected proportion of them who are doubtful whether, after all, we can afford to go ahead as fast as we are going. Why do we go? Why does Congress go up to Washington with one purpose and leap forty years beyond it? Remember Lincoln's purpose and plan just when an assassin's hand took him from our sight. He stood ready to readmit the rebel States and give the black man, without the ballot, into the custody of his late master,—the lamb to the wolf. Johnson came with the same willingness, and God hardened him like Pharaoh, every successive act making him more odious and contemptible, in order that the nation might not be misled in its steps in 1865? (Applause.) Look, at that same hour, at Congress ready to give the black race back into the hands of the white! Then wait! And by some unaccountable power, by something which no man recognized and cannot to-day explain, we ignored the past and pressed forward, trampling Johnson under one foot, and the idolatry of Lincoln's memory under the other, and achieved safety. I look out from whence comes the force, because, when I crumble it up into individuals, I do not find it. And yet, somewhere, in the air above, in the ground below, or in the forces of the heart, somewhere there is a power that has put this nation forward infinitely faster than its reorganized leaders in thought ever either purposed or dared to go. In that I recognize the great instincts, feeling that

something must be done, and assuring themselves that it shall be done. I gain new evidence that everybody knows more than anybody; that in the unrecognized forces of what we call instinct, there is an infinitely greater power in moulding human affairs than there is in the little forces that we count up on our fingers. And from that point I ascend to another, and recognize the fact, that the sunmooning of a whole race, that has had only the education of affairs, is going to add a wholesome element to our civil life. The other day, in our city, we had an expelled member of the Georgia Legislature—Mr. Simms. (I hope he is not present, for I want to speak of him). He opened to us in an hour's speech the tangled web of Georgia politics, and laid side by side, in order and harmony, the involutions of that curiously mixed social and political quarrel, just as, to the amazement of anatomists, Gall opened the brain. Simple in language, masterly in arrangement, not a word too much, not an idea out of place, from point to point, with a harmony and exactness which no study could have bettered, he showed us Georgia. In front of him sat perhaps the most expert and renowned correspondent of the press that New England knows, a delighted listener for an hour and a half. I went and took my seat at his side. Said I, "What do you think of that speech?" Said he, "Where was that man educated?" Said I, "He was educated with a hoe; he was educated with a hammer; he was educated by his hands." "Well," said he, "I never heard a more masterly analysis of an intricate question, and up in yonder Capitol!" (pointing to our State House) "There are not a dozen men in either body who could explain Massachusetts to-day as he has explained Georgia." (Applause.) Are there any more Simmses in Georgia? I have not a doubt there are a score of them. I have not a doubt North Carolina has a score of Harrises. Men say, "Why, the colored race south of Mason & Dixon's line is so demoralized that it is madness to give them the ballot." Do you not know, that every great colored intellect that has forced the nation's admission and been felt in the agitation of this question, came up from South of Mason & Dixon's line? That the colored man, driven here to his place, driven here to absolute individual culture, robbed of his share in public affairs, has not been able to hold his own, with his books and his schools and his teachers, with the men who have had only the education of the hoe and the hammer? This shows how immeasurably better, if we can have but one, is the education of business. I hail, therefore, as the triumph of an unmixed democracy, the advent under the Fifteenth Amendment, of a new race into its proper place in our national affairs. (Applause.) I consider it growth, security, prosperity,—the guaranty of a brighter and a nobler future. We have had a politics peddling with the question of Fenianism. We have had a politics watching out of back doors the European crowds. We have had a politics that ignored, ignobly, the interests of humanity. The moment the black man puts his hand on the helm at Washington, we will have a politics that shall dictate to Cuba, unless she acknowledges impartial liberty; that shall say to the West Indies and to South America, wherever you find disabilities, much more chains, "every portion of the race that forms a part of the great empire of the West must stand equal with every other race, under every banner that floats." We will have a politics broad as humanity. I should have liked to have been at the Cuban meeting the other night. I should have liked to have carried the anti-slavery movement there. I should have liked to have carried out, by their legitimate results, the principles which have underlain this cause. Men said, "What right have you in Massachusetts to go down and interfere with South Carolina? What right have you in New England to disturb the social relations of the Gulf States?" And we said, "If the Gulf States want to manage corporations, and common schools, and municipal institutions, and the administration of wills, and the relations of husband and wife, they are welcome; those are civil rights, and we do not interfere. But when the Gulf States set up a fence and exclude the world, and three men take a fourth and tie his hands and feet and rob him of his natural rights, then every other man who looks on the world over has a right to break the fence down and go in." (Applause.) Nothing that interferes with the natural rights of a great class deserves the name of a government. Virginia never had a government; has not got one yet; never will have one until she acknowledges the Fifteenth Amendment. Cuba never has had a government; none exists there to-day, except the informal attempt at one in the camp of the insurgents, for that government acknowledges the natural rights of every man, black and white, on the soil, and that is a government. I hold to the diplomacy which says to Crete and to Cuba, which says to every nation the world over, "Shape your civil affairs as you please; we have nothing to say to it; but if we ever hear by the telegraph, or ever see with the Chicago telescope, in any portion of the globe, an appreciable number of human beings who are struggling for their natural rights to work, to think, to move and to worship, the first moment the telegraph clicks, we will acknowledge their belligerence (applause), on the same principle that the education, the piety, the christianity, the culture, the wealth and the strength of New England defied South Carolina and acknowledged nothing but her blacks until her whites learned to do justice." I expect the black race will be generous and just enough to join in that policy. I think they will be just and brave enough to hold up every laboring banner the world over. I think, when we get a black Senator with the memories of slavery, and a black Secretary of State in the place of Fish (they are a cold-blooded race, the Fishes), with the experience of the last 200 years for their teacher, we shall have a policy that will send Motley to St. James with a very different letter of instructions; that shall send a minister to Spain with a very different letter of instructions; that shall make this government not a neutrality, but a force; that shall make us just; it will wait until the world has gone before us and is too late to be of any use, but reach our arms around the globe, and clasp hands on the other side, and they shall be so magnetic, that every oppressed man on the surface of the globe shall cling to them as his great defence. (Applause.) Old John Adams was wont to say, at Quincy, when he heard of some Greek revolution, or some Spanish rising, or some Italian revolt, with a justifiable pride, lifting up his trembling hand, "When will the consequences of the fourth day of July end?" So I expect, as the comings of the nation weary years, if God give them to me, to see representatives of this colored race in the Cabinet at Washington, and hear of them sending out some frigate, covered with the Stars and Stripes, with a black descendant of some Louisiana or Georgia plantation, who shall draw, like the Roman ambassador, a line round Francis Joseph or Napoleon, round the hesitating Republic of Madrid, and in the name of the great State

of the West, shall order that before they pass the line of that circumference, the natural rights of every race under its flag shall be guaranteed in the normal constitution of the State. (Applause.) Then, lifting up, like Adams, my trembling hands, I shall say, with a justifiable pride in your fidelity and persistency, "Oh, when will the consequences of the Anti-Slavery movement get to their goal?" (Loud applause.)

ADDRESS OF LUCY STONE.

It seemed to me, friends, as I listened to Mr. Phillips, that perhaps the best thing we could do after his speech would be to sit in Quaker meeting—have a season of silence. It seemed to me that perhaps that would be better service than any word that could be said.

A VOICE. We can't hear a word.

Mrs. Stone. I know that we who are here to-day come with minds crowded with a great many memories of the years through which this struggle, which seems so nearly ended, has been going on; and I thought, as I sat here and saw the heads of men and women with gray hairs crowning them to-day, that were without gray when we began, when I saw Mr. Phillips sitting here on this platform, as I remembered seeing him years ago, with his golden locks unstreaked by gray, it reminded me of the long time during which this battle with wicked powers has been waged, and that what we see now is the result of the struggles of fifty years.

I have come here with only a small word to say, and if the audience do not hear it, it is all the better that it is so. What I want especially to say is, that there yet remains a work for us to do in regard to the colored people, which needs the hands of those who were earliest in the anti-slavery war, and of those who have come so late that they say, "We have done it," though they do not remember anything at all about the beginning. I refer to the prejudice which still exists against the colored race. For all that the slave's fetters are broken, for all that the Fifteenth Amendment is bound to be passed and the colored man will be a voter, for all the years of discussion of equal human rights, it is true to-day, almost over this entire country, that no black man or woman finds the same sort of recognition, either in public or in private, that the white man or woman finds—the one because he is white, the other because he is black.

Not very long ago, a colored woman, a lady of education and refinement, welcomed in the best society in the old country, had occasion to come to New York. She sent in advance to the Editor of THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD to secure her a place in some hotel. He went from hotel to hotel, and sent message after message through the length and breadth of this city, from one end of Manhattan to the other, and found but one single hotel where a colored woman would be welcome to eat and to sleep as other travellers who pay their way. That is one fact which goes to show what remains of the trail of the serpent that we need to clear away.

I remember that Mrs. Harper, who sits here with us this morning, stood two years ago on the woman's rights platform, and told us how, as a widow, her last bed had been sold from her house, and the little accumulations of her home scattered by legal acts. I know how she moved the audience by the touching way she told it. And yet, less than a year ago, on another platform, I heard Mrs. Harper say, "So much more have I suffered on account of my color than I have ever suffered as a woman, that I have not begun to remember my wrongs as a woman. That indicates, again, the sharpness of the iron that enters the soul of the colored man and colored woman, simply on account of their color."

Several years ago, when I went to New Jersey, to the locality where I now reside, I noticed that the little colored children were in the streets, instead of being at school, and I asked a little girl I met, "Why are you not in school? You ought to be in school." She said, "They don't allow colored children to go to school here." I thought it must be a mistake, and therefore I went straight to the school house and asked the teacher, "Is it possible that colored children cannot be allowed in this school?" He said, "It is true. Here is a little boy—Moses; a boy of better manners and in every way superior to many of the white children of the neighborhood. Little Moses came to the teacher and said, 'I want to go to school.' The teacher went down to the directors of the Board of Education, and made inquiry, and was informed that in the city of Newark, there was one school for colored children—and Newark stretches out for miles. Schools are scattered everywhere for white children, but there was only one school in the city of Newark to which this colored child could go." When I found that was the position in which the matter stood, knowing that a great many things depend upon the public sentiment that is built up, I thought I could cure this evil in that neighborhood; and so I went to the clergyman, and I said, "Do you know that while we are sending missionaries and tracts to the heathen everywhere, we are making heathen here by shutting out the colored children from the public schools?" He said he was surprised to hear it; he did not know it. Then I went to prominent Republicans in the neighborhood, because it haunted me like a sin on my conscience, that those colored children were not allowed to go to the public schools—I went to prominent Republicans, and they said, "What can we do about it? The school regulations are thus and so, and you have got to get those changed." I have been from one person to another, and have done, perhaps not my best, but something, and it is still true to-day, that in all the city of Newark, there is but one school where colored children are allowed to go.

This work of uprooting the prejudice which excludes the colored man from any right which is enjoyed by anybody else remains to be completed. In the case of Little Moses, the injustice and cruelty were heightened by the fact, that right in that neighborhood, the old colored man and woman, his grand-children, own the tract of land on which they live, and have paid taxes on it for a quarter of a century; and yet, neither their children, nor grandchildren, nor great-grandchildren, have ever set foot inside the school-house in that district, where all white children are free to go.

This is a shameful fact for the State of New Jersey. I know this prejudice will pass away before the good time that is bound to come, but not so speedily as Mr. Phillips said, when the Fifteenth Amendment is passed, and the colored man has a vote. I believe that it will never come until the Sixteenth Amendment of the Constitution is passed, and the black woman stands by the side of the black man with the ballot in her hand, the one sign of equality, and man and woman together, the black woman and the white, shall stand recognized as equals. (Applause.) When the black father and the black mother alike are recognized as equal with the white father and white mother, the old prejudice which still lingers as a relic of slavery

Continued on fourth page.

The caste spirit, which still pursues, persecutes, and socially ostracises colored people almost everywhere, was fitly rebuked. The indifference to, and guilt of the popular clergy and church members for the sufferings of the colored people, proscribed simply on account of their color, was affirmed and condemned with due emphasis. Though chattelism is abolished, the unjust caste spirit against the colored people, born of slavery, still abounds. With some grateful exceptions the colored people are still treated with a cruel exclusiveness, as

though they were afflicted with perpetual leprosy. In this unchristian proscription clergymen and church members are to a large extent consenting, if not active partners. Abolitionists again protest.

On no previous anniversary occasion has there been so much to gratify and encourage Abolitionists in the retrospect. The defeat at the polls of the negro-hating, rebel party within the year; the relief from Andrew Johnson, and the virtual acknowledgment by the nation of the rightfulness of the original demand of the Abolitionists for his impeachment; the initiation and gratifying progress of the Fifteenth Amendment; the important and briefly commendable action of President Grant in appointing colored men to office; all these events were chronicled with especial satisfaction. It remains true however that hundreds of thousands of colored men are at present disfranchised solely on account of color, and that nothing definite and final has yet been achieved for their political emancipation. They are yet a proscribed class, at a great disadvantage as compared with their white fellow-citizens. Until their equal citizenship is recognized and guaranteed in the fundamental law of the nation, with the means of self protection which such recognition will bring, Abolitionists must and will prosecute their special work to its beneficent end.

THE STANDARD.

THE STANDARD has just entered upon its Thirtieth volume. It is an excellent time to subscribe. We print this week a full report of the Tuesday morning meeting at Steinway Hall, and shall present in our next, and subsequent issues, a full report of the other sessions of the Anniversary meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, held last week.

Incidentally we shall continue to print the proceedings of the Radical Club of Boston, interesting matter pertaining to Woman's Rights, Temperance, the Labor Question, the Indians, Anti-Capital Punishment, and kindred reform movements.

We shall continue to present to our friends who remit to us for new subscribers (all who remit \$6.00 for two yearly subscriptions, one renewal and one new subscription, or for two new subscribers, a copy either of WENDELL PHILLIPS' "Speeches, Lectures and Sermons," with steel portrait; ANNA E. DICKINSON'S very valuable book, "What Answer?"; CAROLINE H. DALL'S "College, Market, and Court," the ablest plea and compilation yet made in the interest of the Woman's Rights Movement; or the excellent photographs, well adapted for framing, of WENDELL PHILLIPS and JOHN G. WHITTIER.

For the current year we will also send *The Radical* (\$4.00 a year) and *THE STANDARD*, each one year to old, or new subscribers, the two for \$5.50.

The Woman's Advocate (\$2.00 a year) and *THE STANDARD*, the two for \$4.00.

The Herald of Health (\$2.00 a year) and *THE STANDARD*, the two for \$3.50.

Merry's Museum (\$1.50 a year) and *THE STANDARD*, the two for \$3.50.

We ask of every friend of *THE STANDARD* the slight effort requisite to send us at least one new subscriber. Of the numbers containing the proceedings of the American Anti-Slavery Society's Anniversary we shall print larger than our usual editions and thus be enabled for the present to supply subscribers from the beginning of the volume.

From *The Marshall (Iowa) Times* of the 8th inst. we clip the following:

"During all the years of anti-slavery agitation, the most reliable organ of the cause was the old NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD. We have taken it almost constantly for twenty years, and we like it as well as its predecessors. It is always printed very beautifully and its literary and political departments are edited with the highest skill, ability and taste. The publishers now offer as premiums, splendid photographs of Wendell Phillips, the Orator, and John G. Whittier, the Poet. Each photograph is also accompanied by the autograph of the original. Either of these photographs will be sent to any one who remits \$6 to the publisher for two yearly subscriptions to *THE STANDARD*. They are choice and valuable mementos of the foremost champions of the Anti-Slavery Cause."

THE NEW ENGLAND CONVENTION.

THE Thirty-ninth Annual New England Anti-Slavery Convention will be held in Horticultural Hall, Boston, on Thursday next, the 27th inst.;—not Wednesday, the 26th, as erroneously announced in *THE STANDARD* of last week.

There will be a strong array of well known speakers. The present very cheering and encouraging aspects of the cause, and the critical importance of the movement, the Fifteenth Amendment, will render the Convention one of much interest. We scarcely need urge our New England readers to make timely arrangements to be present.

On Wednesday, the 26th inst., in Horticultural Hall a Woman's Rights Convention, under the auspices of the New England Woman's Suffrage Association, will be held; on Wednesday and Thursday, the 26th and 27th, a Labor Reform Convention, in the Melonian; and on Friday, the 28th inst., in Tremont Temple, will be held the Anniversary of the Free Religious Association.

THE AMENDMENT.

We chronicle with especial satisfaction the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment by two additional States—CONNECTICUT and INDIANA. The vote in the Connecticut Senate was, affirmative, 13 Republicans; negative, 6 Rebel Democrats;—in the House of Representatives, affirmative, 126 Republicans; negative, 124 Democrats.

In the Indiana Legislature the Rebel Democrats a second time resigned, hoping thereby to prevent the ratification of the Amendment. The Republicans have a majority in both branches of the Legislature. By informality in their proceeding and want of shrewdness to carry out their designs the bolters have failed, we infer, in their rebellious manoeuvre; and it is probable that at Washington the Amendment will be considered as having been ratified by Indiana.

The list of States having ratified the Amendment, made up from various sources, is as follows:

MISSOURI, March 1, 1869. (Defective).
KANSAS, February 27th,
NORTH CAROLINA, March 5, 1869.

WEST VIRGINIA, " 3, "
MASSACHUSETTS, " 9-12 "
WISCONSIN, " 9, "
MAINE, " 12, "
LOUISIANA, " 8, "
MICHIGAN, " 8, "
SOUTH CAROLINA, " 16, "
PENNSYLVANIA, " 26, "
NEW YORK, April 14, "
ALABAMA, "
FLORIDA, "
ILLINOIS, "
MINNESOTA, "
IOWA, "
NEBRASKA, "
ARKANSAS, "
NEVADA, "
CONNECTICUT, "
INDIANA, "

The Amendment has been rejected by DELAWARE.

Georgia, not competent, until "reconstructed" again, to either ratify or reject the Amendment, has gone through the form of rejecting it.

*Missouri failed to act upon the second session.
*Kansas—the second session was imperfect when ratified.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE able address on the Woman Suffrage question, by Hon. George F. Hoar, published recently in *The Standard*, has been put into neat pamphlet form by the New England Woman's Suffrage Association. It may be had of the Secretary, C. K. Whipple, 43 Bowdoin street, Boston, Mass.

Wendell Phillips, A. Bronson Alcott, Miss Jennie Collins, Thomas J. Durant, Rev. W. F. Mallalieu, S. S. Foster, and a strong array of other speakers are expected to address THE LABOR REFORM CONVENTION to meet in the Melonian, Boston, May 25th, and 26th.

Commissioner Parker is reported predicting in advance the failure of the Quaker experiment with the Indians. *The Philadelphia Post* makes the following pertinent comment: "Commissioner Parker thinks that the Quaker mission to the Indians will be a failure. Considering that this experiment has not yet been tried, we think Mr. Parker is a little premature in his suppositions. It is hardly fair to the gentlemen who, in the cause of peace, will go out to the Indian Territory without recompense of any kind, except the approval of their own consciences and the approbation of the nation, to prejudice them in this manner. Let Mr. Parker and the public wait until they have at least seen the Indians."

From a letter accompanying a remittance for *THE STANDARD*, from a gentleman in Texas, a man in official position, trusted and honored, but whose name, for prudential reasons, we withhold, we make the following extract, illustrative of the "peace" which prevails in Texas:

"The condition of the Republican Unionists of Texas at this moment is deplorable. At no time before in Texas to my knowledge, and I have lived here nine years, has there been so many murders and outrages of defenceless blacks and white Unionists as now. Since the coming of our present Military Commission the ruffians here seem to hold a carnival of crime. Gen. Reynolds appears to be powerless to prevent lawlessness. We trust that your voice may be heard in defense of the real condition of affairs here."

The reports from the Western borders concerning the Indians are conflicting, and indicate that all is not likely to go on smoothly with the Indians if disappointed politicians and speculators who do not like President Grant's Quaker experiment can prevent it. We are glad to learn that the Hon. Sidney Clark, Chairman of the House Indian Committee, has proposed to Commissioner Parker the appointment of a special agent, whose duty it shall be to visit the chief points of Indian life and settlements, and by observation, and inquiry, procure as full knowledge as possible of their own views as to the future that awaits them, also as to what the whites, pro and con, think and say on the same points. This report to be made by some one unaffected by official routine, or theories, and to be in effect what a leading paper would direct were it to present to the public a full exposition of the Indian Question. We think such a report would be of great value at the present juncture, and are glad to hear that so competent a person as Col. R. J. HINTON, formerly of Kansas, an able journalist, a fair-minded man, thoroughly familiar with Western life, has been suggested for the important trust.

Delaware still adheres to the Whipping Post and the Pillory. Of course it is "conservative," and "Democratic" in politics. Of course it would naturally reject the Fifteenth Amendment. Great is Delaware in its littleness and barbarism. To it we invite the special attention of the managers of the Missionary, Bible, and Tract Societies, as a promising field of labor. A telegram of the 15th instant, from Newcastle, Delaware, says:

"The new whipping post and pillory, erected in the jailyard here by the authorities of Newcastle to supply the place of the ancient and worn out one, was inaugurated to-day with the usual interesting ceremonies. The new structure is quite worthy of the taste and enlightenment of a community that preserves this relic of barbarism in an age called enlightened. The pillory of three men convicted of petty offences has occupied the whole morning. They were colored in the ugly machine in the presence of a gaping crowd of men and children. This afternoon the flogging took place and the attendance was very large. Ten persons received punishment at the hands of the Sheriff. The following are the names and offences of those who received lashes:—James Edwards, larceny, fifteen lashes; John Willis, larceny, twelve lashes; John Peterson (colored), larceny, twenty lashes; Morris L. Helms, larceny, twenty lashes; John Bush, larceny, twenty lashes; John Reedy (colored), twenty lashes; Aaron Connor, colored, assaulting a white girl, thirty lashes; George W. Thompson, stealing a horse, twenty lashes, also ten lashes for stealing a halter; Timothy Doran, larceny, ten lashes."

Affairs in Georgia are in a threatening condition. That such would be the result of the non-action of Congress the members of that body were daily forewarned. *The New York Times* and other journals affect to consider the political murders in that State, which they manage to overlook as much as possible, "as of little account. Stories misrepresenting the victims of the murderous Ku-Klux are also afloat. The Hon. James M. Simms, and the Hon. H. M. Turner, of the Georgia Legislature, while recently in this city published in *The Tribune* the following statement:

THE GEORGIA ASSASSINATIONS.

To the Editor of the Tribune:

Sir: We were well acquainted with the Hon. Joseph Adkins, State Senator of Georgia, who was murdered

the other day in Warren County, and were with him in the Constitutional Convention, and the Legislature of Georgia, until we were outrageously expelled from our seats. Mr. Adkins was nearly seventy years of age, and possessed a moral and religious character which defied the tongue of defamation. He was also a strict member of the Baptist Church, and beloved by every honest man who knew him, a man of sterling integrity, and consistent with his profession. While we know nothing more concerning his death than what has been telegraphed through the country, we are confident that so much of the rumor circulated by the Associated Press dispatches as ascribes the deed to a difficulty about a woman is a base and unmitigated lie. The same was charged upon the Hon. G. W. Ashburn, and good old Dr. Ayer, the former over 60 and the latter over 70 years of age, who were murdered in the same way. Rape is invariably charged upon every colored man who is shot or hung for his politics. But the truth is these men have all been brutally slaughtered because they dared to be Republicans, and possessed such an amount of integrity that they defied both bribes and threats. Had they treacherously deserted their constituents as other men have done in Georgia they would be living to-day.

Mr. Adkins, with ourselves and other Republicans, was in Washington at the first session of Congress; we explained our condition, and urged the necessity of some legislation, that would either protect us, or enable us to protect ourselves. But notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of our Governor, with that of Republican Legislators of the State, the petition of the elected colored members, and memorial of the State Convention; Congress adjourned and went to their homes, and thus have given their moral influence in favor of the assassination of the men who have done everything they could to obey and sustain their laws. God will send us deliverance at some time. In Him we trust.

Very truly, H. M. TURNER.
J. M. SIMMS.

New York, May 13th, 1869.

The "negro question" so often dismissed as of the past, by certain people, does not stay settled. The "irrepressible conflict" now and then crops out anew in unexpected quarters. Recently Mr. Lewis H. DOUGLASS, a son of Frederick Douglass, received an appointment in the Government Printing office at Washington. Members of the Washington Typographical Union, who are afflicted with negro-phobia are greatly disturbed by Mr. Douglass' appointment. They mean if possible to dislodge him from the place to which he has been appointed. To this end they held a meeting of the Union on Saturday last. At this meeting, *The Washington National Intelligencer* gives the following account of the proceedings:

After the meeting was called to order, and some routine business disposed of, Mr. Jesse Judge offered a preamble and resolutions, reciting that as Lewis H. Douglass, a compositor now at work at the Government Printing office, had come to this Union without a card from the Union to the city where he had labored; and as a permit for him to commence work had been irregularly given him by the Secretary of this Union:

Resolved, That the permit heretofore granted be revoked, and that he no longer be allowed to work under the auspices of the Columbia Union.

The reading of Mr. Judge's resolutions created a good deal of excitement, and the fact was noticed that the question of color was entirely ignored in the resolutions. The Chair decided that the resolutions were no. In order, for the reason that the case of Douglass was now in the hands of a committee for investigation. The decision was given amid a good deal of confusion. An appeal was made from the decision of the Chair, pending which a motion to adjourn was made, and a vote by yeas and nays demanded. The Government Office men, seeing that there was no possible chance for them to get a favorable action on Douglass' nomination, decided to vote to adjourn, and as the 500 and odd names were called by the Secretary, it was noticed that the Government men were voting nearly roll in the affirmative. The time necessary to call the roll and record the votes was about an hour and a half. The result of the vote was: Yeas 158, nays 150. So the Union adjourned to the first Saturday in June. It is understood that at the meeting of the National Union in Albany, on the first Monday in June, this question of color and card in Douglass' case will be brought up, and some action will be taken advisory to the Union of this city. The colored compositor, who is one of the causes of all this controversy, is a son of Frederick Douglass. He learned his trade in his father's office, in Rochester, commencing in 1852. He continued at work in Rochester until 1862, when he went into the Union army as a Sergeant-Major of the 54th Massachusetts Volunteers, and served for two years. Immediately after the assault on Fort Wagner, in the Spring of 1864, where he was commended for conspicuous gallantry, he was discharged by reason of disabilities. He then went to Talbot County, Maryland, where he taught school at a town within eight or ten miles of the place from which his father ran away from slavery. In 1866 he represented Maryland in the delegation which waited on ex-President Johnson to represent the interests of the colored people of the country. He was the Secretary of the Delegation, and his father the Chairman. It was at this interview that Frederick Douglass replied to Mr. Johnson, "You send us to the people, and to the people we will go." In the latter part of 1866 Lewis went to Colorado Territory, and worked a few days on *The Denver Daily Gazette*. He was forced to leave the paper on account of one of the white compositors refusing to work with a "nigger." We understand that the compositor who refused to work with Douglass on *The Gazette* is now employed at the Government printing office, seemingly reconstructed in harmony with the Fifteenth Amendment. As the case now stands, Douglass has a month to work at the office without being worried in regard to his status in the establishment.

There is good reason to believe that Mr. Douglass will be sustained in his position. As a test case it is one of much interest. If decided as it should be in Mr. Douglass' favor the door will have been opened to the Printers Union through which other competent workmen may enter, irrespective of color.

We have received a very interesting report of a meeting of The Radical Club of Boston, held in Mr. and Mrs. Sargent's parlors on Monday last, at which a paper was read by Ralph Waldo Emerson. Among the conversationalists were Wendell Phillips, Rev. Dr. Bartol, Mrs. Howe, Col. Higginson, Mr. W. and others. Owing to the demand upon our space of the Anniversary proceedings of the American Anti-Slavery Society, we are obliged to defer the publication of this report and other interesting matter till a later issue. Contributors and correspondents will understand that if their favors do not appear it is because we cannot at present conveniently oblige them with space.

PERSONAL.

Rev. Mr. Heworth has resigned the pastorate of the Church of the Unity in Boston, to succeed Dr. Osgood in the "Church of the Messiah" here.

A cable telegram from Bern, dated May 17th says: "The Swiss Government has prohibited Mazzini from taking up his residence in any of the cantons bordering on France or Italy."

Mrs. E. A. Kingsbury will speak upon Suffrage for Woman in Westfield, Mass., May 19th; North Bedford, Mass., May 20th; Becket, Mass., May 21st; Middlefield, Mass., May 22d.

Miss Elizabeth Peabody, sister of Mrs. Horace Mann, who has devoted some years to the study of the kindergarten system of manual labor in connection with primary schools, will soon commence some experiments on the system in the cities of Massachusetts.

The Commonwealth says: "Wendell Phillips beta the compliment of an invitation from the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard College—think of that!—for the delivery of the annual oration, commencement week, but has been compelled to decline it."

The Commonwealth says: "Edwin Morton, Esq., whose interesting paper on the

Puritans of Plymouth in our columns will be remembered, has prepared a lecture for the ensuing season entitled, 'Personal Recollections of John Brown,' which will be of great value to 'usual interest.'"

A FRIEND writes from Virginia, May 10th: "I read Imboden's speech to the Farmer's Club in Cooper Institute, from *The Tribune*. What effrontery to speak of Slavery as 'our special system of civilization!' And that Farmers in New York could hear him without crying, 'Shame!' What is thought of the reception of Lee by Grant at the White House? Mr. Motley was present. The Rebel papers are rejoicing in it."

Frederick Douglass, in a letter to the editor of *The Commonwealth*, referring to the proposition of a statue to himself on the Lincoln monument, says: "My friends must do as they please, but my impressions are against the statue. I am not dead yet! I am but little over fifty-two, and may live twenty years longer—a space altogether too long for a live man to be looking upon his dead monument, and having other people looking upon it and upon him at the same time! I have no power in the matter, but I want my friends to know, by some means, that I am willing to leave the whole matter of my memory to those who survive me. Let them turn their attention to dear old John Brown, with whom I was not worthy to die at Harper's Ferry. Let us see the heroic form of this true martyr to liberty on the Lincoln monument!"

The Boston Journal says: "George Hunt, of Northampton, Mass., son of the Treasurer of the Connecticut River Railroad, (Seth Hunt, Esq.) left Northampton Thursday on a velocipede for this city, which he reached Saturday afternoon. He accomplished the distance of one hundred miles in twenty-two hours and forty minutes. On Thursday he rode thirty-three miles, to West Brookfield, making the distance in seven hours and ten minutes; on Friday he rode twenty-seven miles, to Westboro', in seven hours and thirty-five minutes; yesterday he made the forty miles to this city in seven hours and fifty-five minutes. The best time made Saturday morning was in riding seventeen miles from Westboro' in one hour and forty minutes, and in another instance he made six miles in thirty-five minutes. Mr. Hunt was in fair condition on reaching Boston, but will not probably return home on the velocipede."

Our Boston Correspondence.

Boston, May 16th, 1869.

Our Legislature have just printed the Report of the Joint Special Committee to which was referred the petition of eight thousand citizens of Massachusetts, a majority of them praying for an amendment of the Constitution of this State, so as to allow suffrage to women on the same terms with men. This document, signed by nine of the ten members of the Committee, goes into an elaborate consideration of the subject, and makes a strong argument in favor of the movement proposed, ending with a "Resolved" providing for the Article of amendment: desired. The matter will probably be debated and decided before you print this, but, even should the Legislature shrink from taking the step urged upon them by the Committee, the Report is so significant of public opinion that I think you will be glad to have from me an abstract of its topics.

The Committee are of opinion that the time has come when this great question must be squarely and fully met. They notice, as significant, not only the number, but the high culture and character of the petitioners. They touch upon the partial and limited view of woman's sphere heretofore prevailing, and point out various details of benefit both to women and the public which may reasonably be expected from the proposed extension of suffrage. They claim that women may with eminent advantage become public teachers of religion as well as of sciences and of medicine. They forcibly suggest the inconsistency, and the disadvantage, of withholding from more serious and conscientious women from public action, while the open display not only of talents and acquirements, but of personal charms, by another portion of the sex, on the stage, is warmly welcomed and applauded. They point out portions of our politics which obviously need the very kind of influence and action which women would bring to them; and they touch upon the great advantage of opening a wider career to those whom Governor Andrew called "anxious and aimless women." Pointing out that the qualification to vote is a capacity to exercise a rational choice, they show the competence of women to perform this right and duty of citizenship, and set forth that, under a system of universal suffrage, reforms may be expected to come through the ballot rather than by revolution.

Going deeper, they take up the question of natural right of the governed to have a voice in the election of those who are to administer the government, making forcible quotation of the truths declared to be self-evident in the Declaration of Rights adopted by the Continental Congress in 1776, in our national Declaration of Independence, and in the Constitution of Massachusetts, and showing that these propositions rightfully cover human beings without distinction of sex, and also that, in regard to such a right as voting, the distinction of sex is immaterial.

To show the seriousness and soundness of thought which the Committee have brought to bear upon this part of the subject, I will quote two paragraphs from the Report:—"The right to vote, bringing with it a sense of responsibility in the use of such a right, would create in women a deeper interest in the great social problems which form the gravest part of what we call politics. They would study with a keener interest, when they saw the life world make of their studies. If there be any truth in the usual complaint that so many of the sex waste life in what is frivolous or of passing importance only, the way to cure the evil is to summon them to a fair responsibility on questions of importance. Education, the best education, does not come from books; it is made out of experience. Life the outgrowth and result of a deep interest in great questions, and a personal share in the world's affairs."

"Again, the ballot would rouse woman to a full sense of her power, and the responsibility this entails. No thoughtful man fails to see how great, how almost unlimited, is the influence of woman. The right to the ballot will hardly increase this. What we understand the petitioners to ask is, that in the place of concealed and indirect influence, woman may have open, direct power. The first awakens no proper sense of responsibility; the last would do so, and lift the level of woman's thought and study."—p. 12.

The Committee proceed to state that our Massachusetts laws, after all their revisions and amendments, still contain provisions unjust and injurious to women; they quote from the General Statutes various cases of this sort, where oppressive control is given to the husband over the wife's own personal property and real estate, as well as over the possessions which they jointly hold; and, in regard to control of the person they quote the following statement of Hon. Samuel E. Sewall, showing the need of further legislation:—"The doctrine that the husband has a right to a reasonable control of his wife's person is still recognized by American courts, but it would be difficult to define the extent to which they would probably tolerate that doctrine. The growing civilization and refinement of the age are gradually undermining this and other feudalisms without any legislation. Yet surely laws should be enacted to sweep away the smallest vestige of this barbarous doctrine."

To illustrate this need of further legislation, the Committee refer to the fact that husbands have repeatedly imprisoned their wives in insane asylums or elsewhere, without any legal process or supervision, and debared friends, and even blood relations, from seeing them. Referring, then, to the large activity of women in the reform movements, the Committee suggest that these patriotic laborers will naturally continue to watch with enthusiastic interest the currents and channels of political life involved in our "reconstruction"—and strongly urge that Massachusetts ought to lead the way in giving them a voice and a vote in the final settlement of the great questions involved in this issue.

The Committee then take up, and very ably answer, the following popular objections to the voting of women:—1. That to do this they must leave their peculiar and appropriate sphere, and thus the delicacy naturally belonging to their sex. 2. That they are already virtually represented by the men, of their respective communi-

ties. 3. That the vicious and ignorant will outvote the good and wise. 4. That women do not understand the ballot. 5. That women do not go to war and fight, and therefore ought not to vote. 6. That their voting would produce family dissensions; and finally, 7. That the Bible is adverse to the proposed reform.

In conclusion, the Committee report, and recommend for adoption, a Resolve, providing for an amendment of the Constitution to secure the elective franchise, and the right to hold office, to Women in this Commonwealth.

CO-OPERATION.

LETTER FROM COL. R. J. HINTON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 14th, 1869.

MY DEAR MR. POWELL: I cannot refrain from a word or two in relation to the ideas advanced in the current *Standard* with regard to cooperation among the colored people of the South. As you are aware, I have for some years past been investigating the subject, and am just now at work on a little book to be entitled, "Cooperative Production and Industrial Partnership in Workshop and Farm."

I sincerely trust that our friend, Mr. Craft, will succeed in his praise-worthy effort to raise a Cooperative Farm fund, but must be allowed to suggest that it is somewhat of a scandal to us, that such a fund for such an object should have to be solicited in England. Mr. William Lawson, of Biemheresse Farm, Camberland, England, now traveling here, has offered one hundred pounds towards a fund of one thousand pounds to be used in paying the expenses of a Cooperative Lecturer or Missionary, designating Mr. Henry Pitman, of Manchester, editor of the *Cooperator*, as the person to be so sent here.

The indifference manifested towards genuine material reconstruction in the South, is to me one of the most to be deplored signs of this hour. Republicanism, to sustain itself, needs not only the ballot, but homes and education. The best ideal of a people is theirs, which seeks to plant every man on the soil, or in a position where he can become industrially independent. Men are mourning here (Republicans too) because there is less labor for us or hire in Virginia than before the war. They regret that females are taken from field work; they regret the negro falls back, (as they phrase it), to "but life," and seeks to buy or squat on a patch of land—no matter how small. For one I can only regret that men are so perilled that they cannot halt these signs as good omen and endeavor to aid and systematize such efforts.

The freed people of the South are just in a condition to be made of use in a cooperative sense. The comparative or apparent failure of this great idea in the old Free States, where it has been to some extent tried, is owing almost altogether to the fact that most of the so-called cooperative stores or workshops, have not been such in any true sense of the grand term—Cooperation. The principle therein involved requires that all engaged in production or distribution of the articles of exchange, traffic, consumption or manufacture, should share in whatever results may flow from their combined effort. In this view of the case, buyers as well as sellers, consumers as well as producers, alike have a common interest—equal in the measure of their contribution.

Most American efforts are, after all, but extensions of the joint stock idea; application of that principle of association which has produced such vast results in our modern civilization—as our railroads, etc.—but which, uncorrected by the principle bound up in the term cooperation, is likely to bring upon us those vast dangers that the most obtuse can at once see as likely to flow from the mobilization of capital in few hands, for purely speculative purposes. It is this mobilization of capital, rendered possible by the mere selfish application of the associative idea, which gives growth to such poisonous fungus as the Fisk and his tribe of Wall street abolitionists. Americans seem to run into speculation the moment: after they find that cooperation can be made successful. Like the old woman in the fable, they at once proceed to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs, by trying to exclude some one from the results all have helped to achieve. Want of conception of the real idea of cooperation, which is the common benefit of all, and a consequent decline into the mere speculation, is the cause of American failures.

The colored people have in the South the advantage, (for such judging by Rochdale, the Parisian Association, Overtures, and the German "Banks of C. ult." etc., it appears to be in its movement) of being poor enough to have that anxious desire to better their condition which gives one of the best levers to work with in so vast an ameliorative effort as cooperation is sure to prove.

But I intended only to write a brief note, and find myself running into a long letter. I desire to call the attention in closing of those who are interested in movements like that known as the "Freedmen's Saving Bank and Trust Company," to this idea. More than a million dollars have been deposited by the colored people in that institution. It seems to me there has been a remissness somewhere, in not having an organization related to this by which the funds so accumulated and others might have been laid in the purchase of homesteads for the freedmen. The interest on the money deposited has been five per cent, while properly directed, the funds thus collected might have stood for four or five times their value in land.

We need for the South to-day a Cooperative Credit Mobilizer, by which lands will be bought and re-sold at cost, with a sufficient per cent added to remunerate the capital invested; which will lend to cooperative homestead, farming, manufacturing, building and distributing (store) associations, as well as to private individuals, giving the preference to the former. A million dollars thus mobilized may easily secure its ten per cent interest, insure the purchase of thousands of homesteads and aid other self-helping objects, and yet divide with its workers, consumers, lenders and borrowers, an amount of profit which will be surprising. Enterprises which prove this have been elsewhere made successful, and it is not to the credit of radicals in America that no such effort has as yet been made to put the laborers white and black, of the South on their feet. Half of the land of Virginia is in the market. Probably one-fourth is offered at bankrupt sale. Yet no movement has been to secure the same for the laboring poor, not as a gift, but as a purchase, on which reasonable profit can be gained. The truth is America is becoming drunken with gain, and in the mad race for wealth, plunges with fearful rapidity into that social chaos which mad competition and fierce speculation, uncorrected even by a little selfishness, has produced in the Old World.

RICHARD J. HINTON.

LITERARY.

WITH the June number *The Woman's Advocate* (Wm. P. Tomlinson, Publisher), completes its first volume. From the first it has been a high-toned, dignified and ably conducted journal, and we are glad to learn that it has already gained so much of a circulation as that its success may be considered as established, and no longer problematical.

In *The Advocate* for June it is editorially announced that:—"For the Second Volume such arrangements are in progress, or are already consummated, as will be an assurance to our friends of no diminution of interest in its pages. The July number will open with a paper entitled 'Are We Worse than our Grandmothers,' by Mrs. ISABELLA HOOKER, one of the ablest and most esteemed writers of the day and a careful observer of the Woman Question. FRANCES DANA GAGE will contribute the first instalment of a paper on 'Old Maids,' and other features will lend varied attraction to the number."

In a retrospect the editor says:—"Turning over the pages of the initial volume of *The Advocate*, more numerous by one-fifth than was promised, the reader meets with the names of such well-known writers and earnest reformers as Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Frances Dana Gage, Caroline H. Dall, Samuel J. May, Lucy Stone, Henry B. Blackwell, Phoebe A. Hansford, George Burleigh and Samuel C. Blackwell, each of whom have contributed thoughtful papers, giving the volume a permanent value to all interested in this foremost of questions pressing upon the civilized world for solution."

We heartily wish *The Advocate* the prosperity which its excellence merits, and shall be happy to receive subscriptions for it as hitherto in connection with *THE STANDARD*, the two for Four Dollars per year.

The June number of *Lippincott's Magazine*, with a full page illustration, contains among other articles: "Beyond the Breakers," a novel, Part VI, by Hon. Robert Dale Owen; "Dias Ira," Two New Versions; "The Englishman on the Continent," by George M. Towle; "Our Possession," by Annie S. Downs; "Harney's Hammock," a Tale, by Mrs. Jane G. Austin; "On Expression in Architecture," by Hugh Davis; "The Maiden Soldier," a true story, by Mrs. Ellet; "Dedication," a Poem, by E. R. Johnson; "Only no Love," a Tale, Part I, After the German, by Mrs. A. L. Wister, translator of "The Old Man's Secret," etc.; "On Using Strength with Economy," by Walter Wells; "The New World Exile in Italy," a Poem, by Howard Glyndon; "The Prospects of Trade," by Hon. Amasa Walker; "A Lost Chapter of History," by N. S. Dodge; "Rubbish at the Patent Office," by Joseph Harrison, Jr.

RECEIVED.

OLD TOWN FOLK, by Harriet Beecher Stowe. 608 pp. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co.

The Westminster Review for April 1869. American reprint. New York: Leonard Scott Publishing Co.

The Galaxy for June. New York: Sheldon & Co.

Lippincott's Magazine for June. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Every Saturday. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co.

Henry Ward Beecher's Sermons: New York: J. B. Ford & Co.

Littell's Living Age. Boston: Littell & Gay.

Special Notices.

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING of the Free Religious Association will take place in Boston, in the coming Anniversary week, as follows:

On THURSDAY, May 27th, a Business session will be held in Fraternity Hall at 554 Washington street, at 3 P. M., for hearing Reports, Election of Officers etc.; also to see if the Association will make such verbal changes in its Constitution as are necessary to secure a Legal Incorporation.

On FRIDAY, May 28th, a general Convention with three sessions will be held in Tremont Temple, for Addresses, Essays, and Discussions on questions of special religious interest at this time. At the session beginning 10 A. M., addresses by Rev. G. B. Frothingham, President of the Association, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Lucetta Motley, Rabbi Isaac M. Wise, Prof. Wm. Weston and Rev. Francis E. Abbott.

At 3 P. M., essay by Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, on "The Elements of Freedom in Religion and of Despotism in its Administration,"—to be followed by free discussion.

At 7 P. M., essay by David A. Wasson. Subject: "Is the Province of Social Science identical with that of Religion?"—to be followed by addresses and discussion. Among the speakers expected are Rev. Rowland Connor, and Mrs. Lucy Stone.

On THURSDAY, FRIDAY and SATURDAY, there will be an informal Social gathering at 17 Green street, with refreshments at moderate cost for all who wish them.

WM. J. POTTER, Secretary.

(Continued from first page.)
will vanish away, and everywhere, in the school and in the college, the black man and woman, as the white man and woman, will find access to all that makes human life worth having, because no door to any human life is shut to anybody on account of color or on account of sex.

This is my one word here to-day, Mr. President. All I wished to say was simply this, that while we have reason to thank God and congratulate ourselves on the wonderful way in which Infinite Wisdom has led us, during forty years in the wilderness, toward the land of Canaan, there still remains this work for every true man and woman, to so change the public sentiment, that every human being shall recognize in every other human being, irrespective of sex or color, one entitled to all to which any human being can be, because he or she is a human being. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF JAMES M. SIMMS.
It is really very gratifying to me, my friends, to be present to-day, for the first time in my life, at an annual meeting of this noble Society. I do not think that it should be more gratifying to me than to the Society that I am here. My presence here is really an evidence of the great progress that has been made and the extent of the work accomplished by the Society. I say this when I reflect from whence I have come to be here among you. I have been coming for twenty-two years, and I am here. (Applause.) It was a long journey; the way was rugged; there were mountains of obstacles to be removed before I could reach here, but it has been done, for I am here. From the depths of my soul I can say I am here to rejoice. I feel happy, happier than I ever expected to feel some years ago, though not happier than I had hoped.

Had I the time, or were it necessary to tell of the obstacles through which I have come, the story might be curious, some of it, but I think the President has satisfied you in that direction by his remarks. But, like yourselves, I have reason to be happy, reason to rejoice, when I remember that my fathers and mothers in slavery have sat down and after their hard day's toil in the field, perhaps even after having passed through a scolding by the lash, they sat patiently in their huts and waited until 12 o'clock at night, when the master and overseer were asleep, and then gone down four miles into the swamp, and there, by the light of pine knots, enjoyed the privilege of praying to the God of the oppressed. They dared not do it within the limits of the plantation, they dared not do it in the hearing of the Christian white race. I have come from there, where I was permitted to stand up and preach the Gospel in part only, and find myself here to-day where I can stand up and speak freely, without the fear of the Ku-Klux, what lies in the depths of my heart.

Much, then, has been done, and much I rejoice. I rejoice greatly in standing here and realizing the fact that I am among the champions of the nation's liberty; not the black man's right only, but the nation's liberty; for it was impossible, it was inconsistent with right and justice, it was inconsistent with the laws of God, that this nation should be free until every one of us held in slavery in this country was liberated. Therefore I rejoice with you to-day; I am here for that purpose. But I am here for another purpose, and that is, to be a testimony to the fact, that although much has been done, the work is not all completed. The march of progress is going on, but there is much yet to be done. When Gen. Sherman had conquered Hood at Atlanta, he started on his march to the sea, and went down some 115 miles without meeting any organized resistance. Passing by Macon, he found "Joe Brown's pets," as they were called, who harassed the right wing of his army, there was quite a little skirmish, and several were killed. He started on, and from there he met no further resistance until he reached the vicinity of Savannah, my home. So it is with the army of progress. The great Anti-Slavery cause is moving on. It has overcome the great organized obstacles that were before it, as you have been told to-day, but it is now being harassed; and the party that is harassing it is the strongest in the State where I live, Georgia; for we are still suffering there, we are still being shot down. Every week, some account comes to us of another of our friends slain or taken out of jail and carried off, to be heard of no more. Walker lies buried in Laurens County; Edward Graham and Thomas Hopkins lie buried in Savannah graveyard, and I could name fifty others who have been killed since the expulsion of the colored members from the Georgia Legislature; and these persecutions and murders are still going on. Why is this so? I might propound that question, through you, my friend, to the American people, for the highest tribunal that we can go before in this our beloved country to tell our grievances and ask for redress, is the American people, for when they answer the question, it is answered indeed; when they apply the remedy, it will be effectively applied for the removal of these evils.

When twenty-eight of us were expelled from the Georgia Legislature, we peacefully got up and came out, after protesting against the action of that body. It was really thought by the men who expelled us that we would make resistance there. The house was unusually crowded on that day, and I believe white men and colored men were there expecting that they would be called upon to take part in a conflict. But we had our plan arranged, to abide by the decision of that body, and then to appeal, through the press, to the people of the country, and to their servants, the Congress of the United States. We did so. We laid our memorial before Congress, through that Hon. Senator from Massachusetts, Senator Wilson, in half an hour after the XLIII Congress was organized for its second session. They failed to act upon it, although they discussed it, and a committee submitted all the evidence they could gather, making a good-sized volume of 150 or 200 pages. We thought we would go before the XLIII Congress, and that body had scarcely organized before the subject was laid before them. We waited patiently until that Congress adjourned. The President reassembled them again in extraordinary session for a time, and we still hoped that they would redress our wrongs and restore us to the seats from whence we had been unjustly expelled by a revolutionary body, who have really declared, by their action, that they will not, if they can help themselves, submit to the reconstruction laws. Congress has now adjourned, and our grievances have not yet been redressed.

I have talked with Congressmen in Washington about this matter, and some of them have said, "It is true, something ought to be done; we ought not to leave Georgia in this fix; we think you ought to be restored to your seats, but it seems the majority here are not disposed to touch Georgia matters. Some think enough has been done already." Since that decision has been made, the outrages have been renewed. After the inauguration of Gen. Grant, there came a lull over the State; everybody seemed to be waiting to see what he would do. We heard of no outrages for a short time. But just as soon as Congress adjourned without doing anything, what do we hear? An old man, seventy years of age, one of the most venerable looking gentlemen I ever saw, a member of the Legislature, and an intelligent, honorable, Christian gentleman, who has lived in the State for 35 or 40 years, has been deliberately murdered. Some one said to him, when he was leaving Washington to go home, "Are you going back to Jefferson?" "Yea," "I wouldn't go, Dr. Ayres. They threatened you so

often while you were in the Legislature, are you not afraid?" "Oh, no, I think they are only afraid of me." "Oh, no, I think they are only afraid of me." There is scarcely a family in the county that has not been visited by some of these men. That man went home to Jefferson County, where he lived, and an organized body against law and order and liberty in Georgia, slew him, and he is lying where Ashburn and Walker and Parsons, and many others are lying to-day. And for what? For claiming the rights, privileges and immunities guaranteed to every American citizen.

One of the most eminent lawyers of the United States Senate said to me, "Mr. Simms, I do not see that we can do much more for Georgia or for the colored people. We have set you free, and you must take care of yourselves, as we do. We cannot legislate any further. We must wait patiently until public opinion and the sentiment of the white race have reached that point that they will bring a moral effect to bear upon these outrages and thus remove them." It reminded me of an incident in the Mexican war, which I have read about. A captain of artillery was sent to silence a battery. After plying his battery for some time, finding that his company suffered a good deal, he went to the commander and said, "We cannot hold that place any longer; we cannot silence that battery." The General said, "I don't know but you have done all you can do, but try a little more grape, Capt. Bragg." Now, Congress has done a great deal, and may be they thought they were suffering in public opinion, and that, if they gave us any further legislation, the pressure would be too great for them to stand. But all we asked them to do was to try just a little more of what they had already done, and I believe that would have effected the purpose. If this is so, I really think that some of the arguments that have been used by this honorable body in years past are necessary again, for a little time, at least, to bring Congress up to that advanced standard that the nation has reached to-day.

I am not ungrateful for all I have enjoyed, for, as I say, I rejoice. If I did not get back into my seat in the Legislature, as I expected to, and as I promised the Democrats I would, I found there was something else to do, and I started off on the next best line. It was, perhaps, a great deal for me to attempt, but I sat down and wrote out my papers, got them endorsed, and went and asked the President to give me one of the best offices in Georgia. (Laughter and applause.) And I not only asked him to give it to me, but I pressed my claims with all the power and energy I possess, and brought all the efforts to bear upon him that I could. I carried the other works pretty handsomely. I got the Postmaster General's consent, thoroughly convinced him, and went and opened on the President. He gave me a cordial reception, and listened to what I had to say. He didn't tell me whether he would or wouldn't when I left him, (laughter), but I have heard since that he has said he couldn't sign my commission. I may not get the office, I may not go into it just yet; but at least I think I have made a pretty good effort for it, and I never could have made that effort but for the help you have given me, my friends. When I thought what you had done for me, I tell you I felt I ought to do something for you; and I really believe that if I had thought a little more strongly that I should get it, I should have got it. I did not work with quite as much faith in the accomplishment of my purpose as I should have worked, and as I shall next time. But I have achieved at least something. I shall go back home, God helping me, after having enjoyed this privilege, one of the grandest I have ever yet enjoyed in my life, of being with you here to-day, I shall go back to Georgia and tell the people, and especially the young men: "You know all I have suffered down here in Georgia among you. I have been up to Washington, I have talked with Congressmen and Cabinet officers, and with the President, and I actually asked him to give me the Savannah Post Office, one of the most important offices in the State; and if I have done this, having dropped my shackles, which I had worn so long and wearily, only the other day, if God spares my life twenty or thirty years longer, and I do not see some of you walking squarely up to the American people, and asking them to let you go into the White House, I shall be astonished at you." (Applause.) If I have done nothing else, I have done this much.

I would not interfere with the President's plans, and sometimes I think he has an idea of putting me in a better position than that (laughter), and I am busy now and shall be busy until he tells me what it is, preparing myself to take hold of it, whatever it may be. (Applause.) That is my business as an American. (Renewed applause.) Slave though I have been, and educated in a pretty rough school, as Mr. Phillips has said, yet I have learned that much, thank God; and I shall be busy preparing myself to take hold of whatever my country, through its rulers, says it has for me to do, let it be in the humblest or most exalted position, that my capacity and ability enable me to fill.

I learn by recent accounts from home, that our people are much depressed. They are weary and discouraged by the action of those around them, and for the want, perhaps, of that cheering intelligence that might be given to them. The masses of them are out of the way, where they cannot know what the world is doing, or what has been done for them. The leading colored men cannot go out into the rural districts; they have not freedom of access there, as yet. They can go out on the lines of the railroads, they can go to the cities, and speak with some comparative safety; and in such places the colored people are doing comparatively well to what the masses are doing. I long to go out again among my people in the country, twenty, thirty or forty miles from the cities and railroads, and speak to them freely and openly, as I have a right to do, of what it is best for them to do, and encourage them to labor, by assuring them that it is the determination of a great portion of this country and of the government, that they shall reap the reward of their labors. This can only be done by our having proper protection. It is promised to us, and the President says we shall have it. A new commanding officer is to go down into the State, and I trust he will be there before I get there; and I hope to be able to realize the fact that I can go again to any part of Georgia, as I can to any part of Massachusetts, and stand up and speak freely. If I say anything wrong, I shall be called to account for it by the laws of the land and by public opinion, but I am not to be prevented from doing so by any man who chooses to stand by and say I shall not speak, and if I do, shoot me down for it. But such a state of things actually exists in one of the States of this glorious Union, that one in which I live—Georgia. I hope to see the day when I can take a copy of the AMERICAN SABBATH SCHOOL in my hand and go to any part of Georgia and read from its columns a criticism upon any man in Georgia. I cannot do it now. Will you allow my work to cease for a moment until that can be done? I think you will not.

We can always judge of the future by looking back at the past, and the evidence you have given of your devotedness to the work you have commenced and so nobly wrought thus far shows that you are the ones to carry it forward to completion. I believe in this Society, which I have now the honor of addressing, as I believe in God and his providence over men. Whatever he commences, he will never leave until it is accomplished. That is the faith within me, and that has brought me

I have never allowed myself to doubt that my people were to be free, and the American people cannot stop short of saying that we shall enjoy every other blessing that the white man enjoys in this country.

Like all good generals, we put our best forces in front. We went and asked for important offices in Georgia, but because I failed to get one myself, that is not saying that no one else is to have one. We have among us a man who acknowledges that he is a colored man, who does not pretend where he is not a colored man, but the—what shall I call it?—I might call it, the easy virtue of Southern society, has bleached him so that it is difficult to tell whether he is white or colored. We put him forward and asked for an important position for him and obtained it, and he is going on assessing the property in one of the richest districts of Georgia, and among other citizens whose property he is to assess is that man who has got no roll of slaves now to call on Bunker Hill. (Applause.) If he has got any property left, I think, from the accounts we get from him pretty regularly, his largest stock in trade is Bourbon, or something like that; and that is what we want to assess the heaviest, and it is what the government is cheated the most in. We hope Mr. Belcher will look to that, and we believe he will. He, a colored man, has been appointed to a lucrative office and an important one, and we are all anxious that he shall call to his aid the best assistance he can, and fill that office with as much honor, integrity and ability as it has ever been filled, and we think he will do it. We have also succeeded in getting some colored postmasters appointed, and though the offices are small, it is a fair beginning. Much has been done, but we want to do more.

Down in Georgia, friends, my sympathy, my earnest desires, my efforts shall be continually with you. I only wish my ability was greater; I wish I was able to do more; but whatever I can do, God helping me, and with your encouragement, I will do with my might. And I really feel confident to-day that we shall meet, again, here or upon the eternal banks of deliverance, and our song of praise shall be a grand anthem of victory, such as I heard yesterday at Trinity Church, at the celebration of the completion of the Pacific Railroad, a grand anthem of victory as last over all progress. Then, and not until then, I think, will the work of the Anti-Slavery Society have been completed. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF DR. CHARLES E. FURVIS.
Ladies and Gentlemen:—Thirty-six years ago, a small number of brave men and women met in this city to celebrate the first Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. They had but one noble and patriotic purpose in view—the elevation of slavery into the true dignity of manhood of that portion of the people of the country who were enslaved, who were suffering all the wrongs and cruelties that a nation guided, modeled and controlled in the interests of slavery could heap upon them. This Society, the number of whose members could be counted on your fingers, was strong in purpose; it was armed with the truth; it had resolved to so revolutionize the State and Church of the country, that the country and its institutions would be absolutely, entirely and completely consecrated to the cause of freedom. The work before it was gigantic—of such magnitude that no member of the Society ever expected to live to see its completion. Far off in the distance lay the American bondman, the object of their philanthropy, and black though he was, the fact that he was a man, created in the image of God, a birth-right citizen of the country in which he lived, a slave only by virtue of the iniquity of his country, was sufficient for them to know. Between them and the enslaved black man, there were almost insurmountable obstacles. There was the entire ruling class of the American people completely identified with the institutions of slavery, who had been taught for a century and more to believe the institution essential to the growth and development of the country. There was the American church, seemingly consecrated to the support of the slave system. In fact, every department of Church and State, and I may add, every phase of Society, united in coercing the black man into a more perfect obedience, thus crushing out of him every element of manhood.

Such was the law, such was the condition of the society, such was the condition of the black men of the country, when this Society was organized for his deliverance. From every available pulpit and platform they annunciated their truths; they pictured the wrongs, the inconsistencies, and the inevitable results of slavery, at first without seeming effect, but at last a political earthquake shook the institution to its foundations in the Carolinas; the nation became alarmed, political agitators were sent abroad to ascertain the cause, and in the great city of Philadelphia they found the seeds of the revolution which was to upturn the institution and relieve the land from the curse. Going further, they found a similar condition in this city, and looking over into Boston, they found the original idea well guarded. Then for the first time the question was asked, "How is this band of anti-slavery agitators to be got rid of?" It was answered by the lying democracy of the North swearing anew their allegiance to the slaveholding oligarchy of the South. It was answered by mean conservatism, voluntarily crouching in silence while democracy made it as unsafe for a man to be an abolitionist as it was for a Protestant to be known as such and live under the reign of Mary of England. The passions and superstitions of the people were appealed to, and they were made the means and instruments by which the designs of the democracy should be furthered. The meetings of the Society were broken up by mobs; the leaders were incarcerated in dungeons, and the black man was subjected to still further humiliation. Yet, in spite of the darkness of the times, the former leader of this Society stepped forward and said, "I am in earnest; I will not equivocate; I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard." That declaration was heard upon every hearthstone in the country; it sent a thrill of inspiration to every patriotic heart; it gave a new and fond hope to the poor slave; it fired the heart of the American people; it gave us the idea out of which grew the compromise which said to slavery, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no further; it gave us the struggles of Kansas, it gave us the victory of Harper's Ferry; it brought upon us, in 1861, the armed conflict between freedom and slavery; it broke, in 1863, the shackles from the limbs of the slave, and made liberty victorious. (Applause.)

Thus, after a struggle of thirty years, this Society accomplished its main purpose, the abolition of slavery, but its work was not done. It is true, some deserted it; it is true, others dreamed that all was done that could or should be done; it is true the black man was no longer a slave in the general acceptance of the term, but he was far from being a free man. He had no political status, no means by which he could build up his individual manhood, no power by which he could secure beyond peradventure the rights he had already obtained. The Republican party, which had recently been founded, was unwilling to put a plank into its platform which would make its cause consistent with justice, so it became the indispensable duty of the Society to continue its organization and its agitation to mould public sentiment; and I am proud to think to-day that, as the result of the agitation of this Society, the black man is a voter in all the rebellious States of the

Union, and that it is due to his vote, as much as to the vote of any other class of citizens, that the President of the United States to-day occupies his position, by virtue of his 300,000 majority; and I am also proud to think, and take consolation in knowing it, that the President recognizes and appreciates the fact, that the black man in the arena of politics, as well as in the arena of war, has rendered valuable service to his country by his patriotism, his heroism and his devotion to those great fundamental principles underlying our Government as enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, and has substantiated his claim to equal rights under the law by virtue of this fidelity, by appointing him to positions of honor and trust at home, and placing him among the representative ministers of the nation abroad. Happily has Grant relinshed the chain which the besotted Johnson severed, and I trust that by his continued acts of loyalty to man and to God, his Presidential career will be rendered so bright and so beautiful to the nation as to obliterate from our memories the dark and bloody chapters we have made in history during the past four years. Whatever may have been Grant's reticence in the past, it matters not, his eloquence of to-day is the admiration of the nation. "Let us have peace," says the great captain of the age. "Let the Fifteenth Amendment to the National Constitution, granting equal political rights to all men, be ratified by the nation," he says, also, "as the means by which to obtain and secure peace."

This Fifteenth Amendment to the National Constitution, granting equal political privileges, to the colored people of the country, we are here to-day, in reality to consider. The justice of the proposition it is unnecessary to discuss. All will admit that it is just. Nor is it necessary to discuss its wisdom, because it is equally wise and just. Admitting, then, the justice and the wisdom of the proposition, the only question for us to settle as reformers is, "Shall the Amendment be ratified?" Shall the dark events of the past be blotted out by the justice we grant to all men to-day? Shall the wrongs which for generations have been heaped upon the colored man be forgotten by him through the justice we grant him to-day? Shall our Republicanism be a failure? As abolitionists, as reformers, we say, "No. We believe in the progressive ideas and spirit of the age. We believe Republicanism can be and will be made a success, when the people, without regard to race, sex or nationality, have a voice in framing the statutes of the country."

Passing by, then, for the moment, the justice of the Fifteenth Amendment, which alone gives to it its paramount importance, there is another reason why this Amendment should be made to the Constitution. The military necessity abolishing slavery created the necessity for this Amendment. By the abolition of slavery, there were thrown upon the country nearly five millions of human beings, who had no political status; and no nation, founded as our nation is, can afford to run the risk of having nearly a sixth of its population disfranchised. Again, we have confronting us our national debt, the payment of which interests every loyal citizen, and every citizen must lend a hand towards its liquidation. How are we going to liquidate it? First, by the establishment of peace; by guaranteeing to every man his right to vote under the Constitution; and by the Fifteenth Amendment this is guaranteed. To-day, the colored people of the South have the right to vote, but the legality of the right is questioned by the whites. The acts of the Georgia Legislature give us a fair illustration of this. To-day, the bulk of the white population of the South are laboring under political disabilities which must soon be removed. When that is done, they will enter again the arena of politics, confronting us with their States' rights ideas, unless we anticipate them by constitutional reforms.

Under the teachings of slavery, the colored people of the South learned to require five men to do the work of three. Such was the demoralizing effect of compulsory labor. The proposition before the American people to-day is to blot out the errors of slavery by granting to every man his right to the ballot, thus making him a responsible, working, producing being. The ballot is an educator; it creates opportunity; and I say to you, when you settle this great question of suffrage, when white and black men alike rejoice over their enfranchisement, and become co-workers in all matters pertaining to government, and co-laborers on the soil, we shall have taken our first step toward the realization of our republican ideas and principles, we shall have taken a sure step toward the liquidation of our national debt. Our republican ideas can never be fully realized until the people rule directly as well as indirectly. The other day, when Senator Sprague said, "I willingly and unhesitatingly, I maintain, in the Senate Chamber of the United States—" We have too many men of one class, too many lawyers, who do not represent the people," he spoke a truth. I do not think it is to be gainsaid, that if Andrew Johnson had been tried for treason by the representatives of the people instead of the Senate, he would have been impeached. (Applause.) And, my friends, republicanism must grow. The idea cannot be fulfilled in a day. In fact, it is growing. We have grown so fast as a nation, within the last eight years, that it is almost impossible to say where we stood eight years ago. The other day, when I saw the best specimen of Louisiana loyalty, in the person of Lieut. Gov. Dunn on the floor of the United States Senate, surrounded by Senators and receiving and bestowing congratulations and compliments, I thanked God for the age in which we live. But when my mind reverted to the fact, that five years ago, men like Gov. Dunn were hung from lamp-posts in this city for no other offence than being a God-made man, black, I could not but thank him again for the almost omnipotent power of the ballot. There is nothing in Gov. Dunn to-day that was not in him ten years ago; he is not a bit better man; but, if ten years ago, he had ever dreamed or thought of being the Lieutenant Governor of Louisiana, or of standing in the Senate Chamber of the United States, receiving the compliments of Senators, the nation would have been insulted, and without doubt would have suffered the penalty of his offence at the hands of his just government. The ballot has so metamorphosed the condition of Gov. Dunn, that in spite of the blackness of his skin, he is made a representative of his State. And what is true of Gov. Dunn is true of hundreds of others. Still, we have accomplished but half of what is before us. We are but half way up the ladder. When I see New York sending Frederick Douglass to represent her in the Congress of the United States, because he is the ablest orator in the State, and can best represent her interests; when I see every avenue through which men walk to a higher civilization opened to all men alike; when I see the word "white" and the word "male" strike from our statutes (Applause); when I see this nefarious prejudice of cast and race and sex rolled together and trampled under the feet of the American people, then, and not until then, will we stand up in the face of the civilized world and say, "Our nation, as regards the rights of man, is unique." I say to you that the work of the American Republican and Reformer is but begun until we have plucked up by the roots all the teachings of democracy, until we have secured the black man in his rights by granting him those advantages of education

which will make him a giant in his opposition to the powers and prejudices which would re-enslave him. Not until then shall we have accomplished all that is before us. This nation can never ameliorate the wrong she has done her fellow citizens until she educates them. To-day, Cuba, in her struggle for independence and constitutional liberty is looking toward us for sympathy and help. What shall be the response of this audience to-day? Shall we send to her those words of encouragement which will fill the heart of the Cuban revolutionist with fresh inspiration, which will send them forth to encounter the adversaries of Cuban independence and liberty with a heroism such as history never knew? (Applause.) God grant success to Cuba! God grant that we may be the first to extend to her the right hand of fellowship and of welcome! I trust, sir, that the conquest that liberty has gained over slavery in this country will be felt and have its effect in every clime where oppression reigns. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF REV. ANTOINETTE R. BLACKWELL.
"The poor ye have always with you," was said by the one who knew very well that there would always be the weak and defenceless to claim the aid and sympathy of every manly and womanly heart. When an institution dies a natural death, that may be the end of it, but if outside forces pull it down, the spirit of the institution still survives. So it is with slavery. It was far enough from emancipating its bondmen, and when they were taken out of its hands by a power higher than itself, it yielded merely to the necessity of the moment, it yielded so far and only so far as it was obliged to, and it is ready now to turn again and screw on the old handcuffs and use the same driver's lash as heretofore. The duty, then, of those who waged the first warfare, and compelled emancipation and the striking off of all literal fetters from the slave must be clear and simple. It is to go on throwing down all the barriers which still hedge in the freed man, and make his lot infinitely harder to be borne than that of any free-born American citizen.

I am glad to stand here to-day to testify my renewed sympathy for him who was so lately a bondman. He is enfranchised and I am not, but I will not envy him; I congratulate him, rather. If he can use the ballot to lift himself up far above my political position, let him do it and welcome. (Applause.) We women will yet get the ballot; we will place it under our social fulcrum, and we will lift politics up to our social level, which is still far higher than any political platform. But can our colored friend come up as easily with it to our social platform? I would fain hope so, but that must depend almost wholly upon himself. Mr. Phillips gave us one view of the question to-day when he told us what the black men should do politically, and the power they should wield, and our other friends gave us something of the other view; and both are true. The Irishman has had the franchise ever since our nation was a nation, but instead of coming up to a higher political level, he has done much to draw public sentiment down to a lower level—one lower than any social platform.

There is no insuperable barrier against the advancement of any white man, even the most illiterate; there is no social barrier against this; but his own unworthiness, his own want of aspiration, his mental vassalage and reliance upon authority have wrought against the Irishman's elevation; and unless our colored friends can see and believe in their own hearts that they and they only can achieve social equality, they cannot obtain it. It is easy for demagogues to flatter our Irish brethren and call them "friends," but their sweethearts still work in the kitchen and are only invited into the parlor to sweep down the cobwebs. We are Democrats, and it is also true that our laborers are likely to be free; but there are social barriers which nothing can do away with, and nothing but social fitness can place a man side by side with another; no political relations can bring him there.

Let, then, every freedman feel that he and he only can make his own position. If every colored man is in intellect the equal of Frederick Douglass, if all were the equals of Robert Purvis or his son, or others on this platform in wealth and position, if every colored woman was the equal of Mrs. Harper, or Miss Remond in moral and intellectual qualities, blacks and whites would be social equals to-morrow, or rather, color as such, would speedily take precedence. Now, all these have their garments heavily weighed down by others less acceptable. Let the black man feel that upon him alone rests his destiny in this country. We may do much; we may go on throwing down the barriers, taking off all restrictions; and we will do that. But that is simply negative help. He only can effectively right himself. It is true now, as it has always been true, that they who would be effectively free must themselves strike the blow.

Continued on second page.

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Mrs. LYDIA MARIA CHILD, a sister accompanying a remittance for THE STANDARD, writes as follows:

WAYLAND, MASS., Feb. 1, 1868.

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